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International Relations Clubs

Syllabus No. IX

China Under the Republic

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE,

Professor of History in Denison University



September, 1921

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PREFACE

Americans are gradually awakening to the significance of their relations with the east of Asia. With every passing year it is becoming more evident that these are shortly to be, if indeed they are not already, quite as important as those with Europe. American business, American missions, and American diplomacy are all intimately concerned with the Far East and we are in addition constantly confronted with the problem of immigration from the Orient. Because of these contacts and the complications which they involve, it is obviously necessary that Americans should make themselves familiar with the nations whose neighbors we have become. College curriculums have been slow to adjust themselves to the need and in but a very few is there given anything that approaches adequate recognition of our trans-Pacific neighbors. We are, fortunately, well supplied with courses on European history and institutions, but to the Far Orient our university schedule-makers pay only the scantiest attention. While this remains true, the need must in part be met by informal, extra-curriculum groups. It is to meet the needs of such of these groups as wish to study China that this syllabus is prepared. The purpose is to make possible an understanding of the China of today, and to this end attention has been centered on the developments of the past few years. It is essential, however, to have as well some knowledge of the background of the decade, and to that end three preliminary sections are devoted to the outstanding features of the geographic environment and of the history and the culture of the China of 1911.

For bibliographical references there have been named some of the important books that are most frequently accessible. Longer selected bibliographies will be found in the author's *Development of China* and in Wheeler, *China and the World War*. Those students who wish to keep abreast of events will find *Asia* (New York City) a useful monthly, and for more detailed and frequent news, they probably can not do better than to follow *Millard's Review*, a weekly published in Shanghai by an American. The latter publication is unblushingly anti-Japanese, but it is very useful when

due allowance is made for this bias. *The Far Eastern Review*, a monthly, is also published in Shanghai by an American, and is thoroughly pro-Japanese. It is largely concerned with engineering and business, but it has from time to time interesting and important articles on current happenings in other fields. In most publications on present Far Eastern conditions and problems, whether books or periodicals, the reader must be constantly on his guard against bias. On few topics, even in these days of violent controversy, is there more prejudice shown than in the current discussions of China and Japan, and on none is it more important to preserve a fair and appraising mind.

K. S. LATOURETTE

I

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

A. *Two main divisions.*

1. China proper. The eighteen provinces. Fitted by nature to be the home of a great civilization.
 - (a) Area, about one-third the size of the United States without Alaska.
 - (b) Fertile soil, well endowed with deposits of minerals, especially of coal and iron.
 - (c) A climate favorable to civilization.
 - (d) The principal drainage systems, the Yangtze, Yellow, and West Rivers. Of these the Yangtze and its navigable tributaries form an artery for commerce which gives access to the heart of the country.
 - (e) The population is largely Chinese and is fairly homogeneous.
 - (f) Given its natural resources, the country could be expected to nourish civilization. Most of these resources are either unexhausted or untouched so that a great future should be expected in industry, agriculture, and commerce. It has the minerals and can produce the foodstuffs to support a large, self-sufficing, and prosperous people.
2. The outlying districts. Tibet, the New Territory (Sin Kiang), Mongolia, and Manchuria.
 - (a) All but Manchuria are semi-arid and are inhabited chiefly by non-Chinese races. The Chinese are settling southern Mongolia.
 - (b) Manchuria is very fertile and within the last hundred years has been entered by thousands of Chinese who are rapidly making it in culture and population largely their own.
 - (c) These territories have in past ages been the source of many invasions of China proper and were acquired by the imperial government to prevent such inroads.
 - (d) These territories are also very extensive and include on their far boundaries some of the highest plateaus and mountain ranges in the world. In the days before railways and large sailing ships, they effectively shut China off from all but the most limited intercourse with India, Central Asia, the Near East, and Europe. Lack of intimate contact with other civilizations slowed down China's progress and bred in her an intense pride.

Readings:

- L. Richard, *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire*, Shanghai, 1908. This is a fairly complete topographical description.

S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (Latest edition). Scribner's, 1907, Vol. I, Chaps. 1-4, especially Chap. 1. A standard, fairly full account.
K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920, (revised edition) Chap. 1.
Encyclopædia Britannica, article *China*, pp. 166-169.

II

SOME OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF CHINA'S HISTORY BEFORE 1911

- A. *Comparative isolation from other civilizations due to barriers of sea, mountain, and semi-arid plateau.*
1. Chinese culture was largely indigenous.
 2. A few foreign contributions came by way of the overland trade routes from Central Asia and by the sea route to the South coasts. Among them were:
 - (a) Buddhism, one of the three main religions of the old China, bringing with it much of Indian and Central Asiatic thought, art, and literature.
 - (b) Mohammedanism, never having a dominant influence.
- B. *China became the cultural center of the Far East, the source of much of the civilization of her immediate neighbors, especially Japan, Korea, and Annam.*
- C. *China was frequently invaded and occasionally conquered in whole or in part by the semi-civilized nomads of the East and North.*
1. These left in the Chinese a strong admixture of their blood, especially north of the Yangtze.
 2. These always adopted Chinese culture and were gradually absorbed into the Chinese race. (There are a few partial exceptions, such as the Moslems.)
 3. The Manchus were the latest of these conquerors. They mastered China (1644 and the years immediately following) and gave China a dynasty which lasted until 1911.
- D. *China's history is, viewed from one angle, a series of dynasties, some of them native and some of them foreign, beginning at least as early as the second millennium before Christ. After each of the great dynasties there followed a period of disorder. Sometimes this was long and sometimes short. During it, military chieftains or invaders struggled for the throne and drenched the country in blood until one had made himself master of the nation and had established his family on the throne.*
- E. *The general tendency, viewed from the standpoint of the centuries, was toward a wider territorial empire and an ever greater population. The empire was never larger nor its population more numerous than under the last dynasty, the Manchus.*

F. *Intercourse with Europeans.*

1. This began in a very limited way in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (Marco Polo and Catholic missionaries.)
2. It was resumed on a larger scale by the sea route in the sixteenth century.
3. It did not concern China greatly until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, when by the first and second wars with Great Britain (1840-1842 and 1856-1860) and other events, numbers of ports were opened to Europeans and Americans for residence and commerce, and diplomatic intercourse was begun.
4. Marked changes began after the war with Japan in 1894 and 1895, but China did not thoroughly commit herself to Westernization until after the Boxer uprising of 1900. From that time on the process has been almost steadily accelerated. Her contacts have been through missionaries, diplomats, merchants, travellers, and students who have attended European, American, and Japanese institutions of learning. Her life has been largely made over.
5. China has sacrificed much of her independence to foreign powers.
 - (a) Exterritoriality.
 - (b) Treaty ports.
 - (c) Control of the maritime customs by foreigners in the employment of the Chinese government.
 - (d) Spheres of influence. Russia in Northern Manchuria, Japan in Southern Manchuria (as the result of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905), Germany in Shantung, Great Britain in the Yangtze, and France in the south and southwest.
 - (e) Leased territories.
 - (f) Railways controlled by foreign capitalists.
 - (g) Foreign troops guarding the legations in Peking.
 - (h) The United States, by the open door policy in 1898, attempted to preserve China's independence.

Readings:

- F. L. H. Pott, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, third edition. Shanghai, 1915. A brief history, giving names and most of the important details but sometimes lacking in perspective.
- K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, Chaps. II, III, V and VI.
- H. A. Giles, *The Civilization of China*, Henry Holt and Company, 1911, Chaps. I, IV, IX and X. A brief account by a well-known scholar.
- S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, Vol. II, Chaps. XVII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI.
- E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, The Century Company, 1912. A graphic description by a trained observer.

III

SOME OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION IN 1911

A. *Political features.*

1. Much local self-government through village elders, clans and the like.
2. An hereditary, absolute monarchy, governing the country by means of a bureaucracy recruited through civil service examinations.
 - (a) The civil service examinations were based upon a knowledge of the classics.
 - (b) In 1911 the monarchy was in the hands of the Manchus but most of the officials were Chinese.
3. The government was fairly adequate for the needs of the nation before the advent of the Westerners, but it was incapable of resisting the efficient governments of the Occident, backed as these were by modern military organization and methods.

B. *Economic features.*

1. The country supported a teeming population, and there were many large cities, indicating a diversified and fairly complex industrial and commercial organization.
2. Industry and commerce were organized on the guild and partnership basis. There was but little labor-saving machinery and man power was used lavishly.
3. Agriculture was fairly efficient.
4. Taxes were paid largely in kind; currency and banking were not as highly developed as in the Occident; and money was coined, although in small denominations.

C. *Intellectual and educational features.*

1. There were many dialects of the spoken language, but those in the north and in most of the Yangtze valley were mutually intelligible.
2. The written language differed much from the vernacular. It was made up of several thousand characters and there was no alphabet.
3. There was a rich and extensive literature.
4. Learning was held in the highest esteem, and was largely dominated by men who were either officials or were hoping to be officials.
5. Education was left to private enterprise, the state contenting itself with holding civil service examinations.

D. *Religions.*

1. Animism, very widespread.
2. Buddhism, imported from India and very influential.
3. Taoism, a faith of Chinese origin, and given over largely to the exorcism of demons.

4. Confucianism. An ethical system rather than a religion, and largely agnostic on questions concerning the divine. It was fostered largely by the learned and its moral precepts were standard for the entire people.
5. Mohammedanism. This had only a few million adherents and these were largely of foreign descent.
6. Christianity. This did not obtain a permanent foothold in China until the seventeenth century and while it had a rapid growth in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries,—after the country was opened to the Occident,—its adherents in 1911 numbered less than one per cent. of the population.

E. *Social characteristics.*

1. Emphasis upon the family and upon the duty of having male heirs, reënforced by ancestor worship.
2. Status of women higher than in India but lower than in America.
3. Early marriage the rule and concubinage practiced by those who could afford it.

F. *Changes in all phases of civilization had been effected by contact with the Occident.*

Readings:

- K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, Chap. IV.
H. A. Giles, *The Civilization of China*, Chaps II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII.
W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1913.
One of the best brief accounts of the subject.
Encyclopædia Britannica, article *China*, pp. 213-231.
James W. Bashford, *China, an Interpretation*, The Abingdon Press, 1916.
Chaps. 2-12.
S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, Vol. I, Chaps. VII-XIV; Vol. II, Chaps. XV, XVI and XX.
F. H. King, *Farmers of Forty Centuries*, Madison, Wis., 1911. An excellent description of agriculture in the Far East by a trained observer.
A. H. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, F. H. Revell Co., 1894. Not very complimentary to the Chinese.
E. H. Parker, *China*.

IV

THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

- A. *The weakness of the Manchu Dynasty.* Its vigor was declining and it would probably have disappeared before long in the natural course of events. The death of Empress Dowager, November 15, 1908, removed the last really able member of the house.

- B. *The inefficiency of the old governmental system.*
- C. *The disorder caused by the inroads of foreign ideas and customs and the aggressions of foreign powers.*
 - 1. There was an insistent demand for the grant of parliamentary institutions to which the Manchus did not accede rapidly enough to suit many. Provincial assemblies met in 1909 and a National Parliament was promised for 1913, but this did not satisfy the country.
- D. *The agitation of radical revolutionists, among the chief of whom was Sun Yat Sen.*
- E. *The agitation against the nationalization of the railways in 1911 was the occasion which permitted the unrest to come to a head.*

Readings:

- F. L. H. Pott, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, Chap. XXVII.
- B. L. Putnam Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, Dodd, Mead, and Company, N. Y., 1917. Chap I.
- S. K. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, D. Appleton and Co. 1916, pp. 1-13.

V

THE REVOLUTION, OCTOBER, 1911, TO FEBRUARY, 1912

- A. *Outbreak at Wuchang, October 10, 1911.*
- B. *The revolt quickly spread to many of the provinces, especially in the south.*
- C. *Yuan Shih Kai was appointed by the Manchus to quell the revolt, and some fighting followed in and around Hankow.*
 - 1. Previous history of Yuan Shih Kai.
 - (a) Born in North Central China and early went into military life.
 - (b) Became a protégé of Li Hung Chang.
 - (c) Represented China in Korea in the eighties and nineties, and there combatted Japanese influence.
 - (d) Organized troops on modern lines in North China after 1895.
 - (e) Aided in the *coup d'état* of 1898 which restored the Empress Dowager to power.
 - (f) Governor of Shantung, 1899-1901, and opposed the Boxer madness.
 - (g) Viceroy of Chihli (the metropolitan province), 1901.
 - (h) In 1909, after death of Empress Dowager, was retired to his estates in Honan.
 - (i) Recalled to assume direction of the defense of the dynasty, October, 1911.
 - (k) His attitude toward Westernization was moderately progressive.
 - 2. Except around Hankow and in Sianfu there was but little fighting.
 - 3. Around Hankow (in Hanyang) the Imperialists were relatively successful.

D. *In December, 1911, a provisional republican government was established by the revolutionaries at Nanking, with Sun Yat Sen as President.*

Sun Yat Sen had long been a revolutionist and as an exile had for some years past been carrying on agitation among Chinese in foreign lands.

E. *February 12, 1912, the Manchu boy emperor, upon the advice of Yuan Shih Kai, abdicated. He became a pensionary of the Republic and retained his title, but not his power.*

F. *February, 1912, Sun Yat Sen resigned as Provisional President and Yuan Shih Kai was elected (February 5) as Provisional President in his place.*

G. *The Provisional Constitution gave more power to the Parliament than to the President, and made conflict between the two inevitable.*

Readings:

F. L. H. Pott, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, Chaps XXVII and XXVIII.

S. K. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, pp. 3-17, 39-40.

J. W. Bashford, *China, an Interpretation*, pp. 492-499.

B. L. P. Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, Chap. II.

VI

THE REPUBLIC UNDER YUAN SHIH KAI (FEBRUARY, 1912—JUNE, 1916)

A. *Problems before the Republic.*

1. The financing of the Republic. The country was in debt, the tax-collecting machinery largely needed overhauling, the currency required organizing, and troops had to be paid off.
2. The reduction of the army to a peace footing and the reassertion of civil authority over the military. Troops had been recruited by both sides during the Revolution. They were frequently lawless and poorly disciplined and their leaders might at any time become a menace to the country as semi-independent chieftains. Military governors frequently dominated the civil administration of a province.
3. The establishment of a permanent form of government, including the drafting of a permanent constitution. Closely allied with this was the need of a strong central government to handle foreign relations and to prevent the country from breaking up into semi-independent provinces.
4. The preparation of the nation for democratic and republican institutions.
 - (a) Socially the nation was already largely a democracy. However,
 - (b) The mass of the people were illiterate and unfamiliar with the ideas of democratic government and representative institutions. Prolonged and extensive education was necessary.
 - (c) Most of the leadership available was unpatriotic, selfish, and accustomed to traditions of political corruption.

5. Readjustment of foreign relations.

- (a) China must, if possible, end extrterritoriality and such other forms of foreign control as territorial leases and spheres of interest.
- (b) Great Britain had taken advantage of the Revolution to make certain demands in Outer Tibet and Russia in Outer Mongolia. These would have to be met.
- (c) China must defend herself against the aggressions of any other power or powers.

B. *Attempt at financial reorganization. The Five-Power Loan of 1913 and the "Punitive Expedition" (1913).*

1. Yuan Shih Kai negotiated for a loan with a Four-Power Syndicate (representative financiers of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany) which, with the addition of Japanese and Russians, became a Six-Power Syndicate.

- (a) This syndicate wished to be granted the exclusive right of making loans to China.
- (b) The project was bitterly opposed by many Chinese for they thought they saw in the project the further sacrifice of the nation's autonomy.
- (c) Yuan Shih Kai, late 1912, managed to get some money from an independent source (Mr. Birch Crisp, a London stock broker).
- (d) Finally, in April, 1913, Yuan Shih Kai, without the authorization of Parliament, agreed to a loan for \$125,000,000 with the Syndicate.

(1) The American members of the group withdrew at the last minute because President Wilson refused to promise the support of the government, on the ground that the terms of the loan infringed China's sovereignty.

(2) The salt revenue was pledged to pay the loan and foreign supervision over the administration of this revenue was provided for.

2. Revolt against Yuan Shih Kai followed in July and August, 1913. This was led by the radical group, largely Southern in its composition, and made up of men who had favored the Revolution of 1911. They saw in Yuan Shih Kai's growing power and his disregard for Parliament a menace to republican institutions. The Southerners were defeated.

3. The net result was to place Yuan Shih Kai more firmly than ever in control of the State. The Southerners, who wished to limit the power of the executive, had been discredited and defeated, and Yuan had obtained the money which he needed to carry on his government.

C. *The problem of subordinating the military to the civil authority and of disbanding the surplus troops.*

In handling this problem Yuan Shih Kai was only partially successful. During most of his life time he succeeded in keeping the larger part of the military leaders subordinate to his will but he did not succeed in disbanding many troops, and to a large degree he represented military rule under the guise of civil forms.

D. *The establishment of a permanent form of government under a strong central authority.*

1. Both were greatly needed.
2. The Provisional Constitution of March, 1912, was passed by the Provisional Assembly at Nanking.
 - (a) This Assembly was controlled by the Southern group which had brought about the Revolution.
 - (b) The Constitution greatly limited the power of the president and put much power into the hands of the Assembly.
3. A new National Assembly was elected in the winter of 1912-1913, and met in Peking in April, 1913.
 - (a) In this assembly the dominant party was the Kwo Ming Tang which represented the Southern group and favored strong local government, a weak executive, and a very democratic and even socialistic form of government.
 - (b) The Kwo Ming Tang opposed the signing of the Five-Power Loan in 1913 and its leaders instigated and launched the rebellion of 1913.
4. The National Assembly appointed a committee of sixty in which the Kwo Ming Tang was dominant, to draft a permanent constitution. This resented any interference by Yuan Shih Kai.
5. After the rebellion of 1913 many of the Kwo Ming Tang leaders left Peking.
6. In October, 1913, the party supporting Yuan pushed through the Assembly a law for the election of a president for a five-year term.
7. October, 1913, Yuan Shih Kai was elected president for a five-year term and Li Yuan Hung was elected vice-president.
8. October 26, 1913, the Constitution drafted by the committee of the National Assembly was submitted to the Assembly. This document greatly limited the power of the president and lodged supreme power in the legislature.
9. Yuan Shih Kai, backed by much of the country, objected to this constitution and on November 4, 1913, dissolved the Kwo Ming Tang.
10. Yuan Shih Kai called in December, 1913, an Administrative Conference appointed by himself, the cabinet, and provincial governors.
11. January 10, 1914, Yuan Shih Kai dissolved the National Assembly on the advice of the Administrative Conference, for the Assembly had wasted time and had proved to be obstructionist.
12. March 1, 1914, Yuan Shih Kai dissolved the provincial and local self-governing bodies throughout the country.
13. Early in 1914, a Constitutional Compact Conference was elected (by a limited electorate) at the suggestion of the Administrative Conference to revise the Provisional Constitution of 1912 and to draft supplementary laws. This met in March, 1914.
14. May 1, 1914, the result of the work of this Constitutional Compact Conference was promulgated.
 - (a) It was a revision of the Provisional Constitution.
 - (b) It greatly enlarged the power of the president and limited that of the legislature.
 - (c) It provided for a Council of State to be arranged for by the Constitutional Compact Conference.

- (d) The permanent constitution was to be drafted by a committee of ten elected by the Council of State and was to be passed upon by the latter body and then presented for adoption to a national convention.
- 15. The Council of State was appointed and began work in June, 1914.
- 16. December, 1914, the presidential election law was altered by the Constitutional Compact Conference, lengthening the term to ten years and giving the president wide powers in choosing his successor.
- 17. October, 1917, the Constitutional Compact Conference prepared a law providing for a one-house legislature under the revised Provisional Constitution, to be chosen by a narrowly limited electorate.
- 18. The Constitutional Compact Conference prepared a law for the election of a national convention and this law was promulgated March 12, 1915.
- 19. July, 1915, the Committee of Ten to draft a permanent constitution was appointed by the Council of State and met.
- 20. Constitutional development was halted by the movement to make Yuan Shih Kai emperor.
 - (a) The agitation took form in August, 1915.
 - (b) At the recommendation of the Council of State in October, 1915, a convention was called to consider the question of restoring the empire.
 - (c) In December, 1915, a vote of "electors" who were supposed to be representative, but who in reality were largely manipulated by Yuan Shih Kai's supporters, declared for a restoration of the monarchy, and the step was decided upon.
 - (d) Opposition quickly developed in many quarters, especially in the South, and open revolt broke out.
 - (e) March 22, 1916, because of the opposition, Yuan Shih Kai issued a mandate cancelling the monarchical movement.
 - (f) The South continued to rise in revolt, demanding Yuan's retirement.
 - (g) June 6, 1916, Yuan Shih Kai died and the presidency passed to the vice-president, Li Yuan Hung.

E. *Preparation of the people for democratic institutions.*

- 1. This would come only as the result of widespread education and experience over a long period of time.
- 2. Some progress was made in a growing daily press and in an expanded school system, both public, private, and missionary.
- 3. However, the mass of the people remained illiterate. There was so much unrest and so much money was consumed by the military establishment and by corruption that funds for extensive public education were not available.

F. *Foreign affairs.*

- 1. Problems growing out of the Revolution.
 - (a) Status of Outer Tibet, subject to long negotiations with Great Britain.
 - (b) Status of Outer Mongolia. November, 1913, a Chino-Russian agreement was signed which recognized the autonomy of Outer Mongolia.

- China was still acknowledged as suzerain and might have a representative at the capital. The agreement was confirmed in June, 1915.
- (c) Recognition of the Republic by the Powers. This was done by most Powers in 1913.
2. Problems arising out of the Great War.
- (a) August 15, 1914, Japan demanded that Germany turn over to Japan the leased territory of Kiaochow "with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." This demand of Japan was in part due to her obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1911).
- (b) August 23, 1914, Japan declared war on Germany.
- (c) September, 1914, Japan invaded Shantung, aided by a small British force.
- (d) November, 1914, Kiaochow was surrendered to the Japanese, and the Japanese assumed control of all the German holdings in Shantung.
- (e) The Twenty-One Demands (in five groups) of Japan on China, January, 1915.
- (1) In regard to Shantung: China was to agree to whatever Japan and Germany should decide about the disposition of Shantung; she was to consent to Japan's building another railway; and she was to open more ports in Shantung.
- (2) In regard to Manchuria: the lease on Port Arthur and the railways in that region was to be extended to ninety-nine years, and Japan was to be granted privileges of trade, mining, and residence, extending her control over that region.
- (3) The Han Yeh Ping Company, the largest iron company in China, was to be made a joint concern of Chinese and Japanese.
- (4) China was not to cede or lease to any third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China.
- (5) A series of demands for a sphere of influence in Fukien, for the right to build railways in the Yangtze Valley, for the employment by Chinese of Japanese advisers in political, military and political affairs, for the admission of Japanese to the joint administration of the police in important cities, and for the permission to Japan virtually to control China's arsenals and war munitions. This group, if granted, would have made China virtually a protectorate of Japan.
- (f) These demands, at first kept secret, leaked out and aroused great indignation in China.
- (g) China was forced in May, 1915, to accept most of the first four groups, but the nation felt deeply aggrieved.
- (h) The United States in May, 1916, declared to China and Japan that she could not recognize any agreement between the two which would impair the treaty rights of American citizens in China or the political or territorial integrity of China.

Readings:

S. K. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*, Chaps. XVI and XVII.

- B. L. P. Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, Chaps. III–XIII.
 K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 210–224.
 W. R. Wheeler, *China and the World War*, Macmillan, 1919. Chaps. I and II.
 J. W. Bashford, *China, an Interpretation*, Chaps. XV, XVI and XIX.
 S. G. Cheng, *Modern China, a Political Study*, Oxford University Press, 1919, pp. 12–146, 235–290.

VII

FROM THE DEATH OF YUAN SHIH KAI, JUNE, 1916, TO THE FORMAL ENTRY OF CHINA INTO THE WORLD WAR, AUGUST 14, 1917

- A. *The previous history and character of the new president, Li Yuan Hung.*
1. Trained on modern lines, primarily as a military man.
 2. First prominent as a revolutionary leader at Wuchang.
 3. Progressive, honest, and well-meaning, but lacking a certain firmness of will in emergencies.
 4. On the whole he was accepted by the mass of the nation and the party leaders, although grudgingly by some of the latter.
- B. *The government under Li Yuan Hung.*
1. The reassembling in August, 1916, of the Parliament of 1913, which Yuan Shih Kai had first hampered by dissolving the Kwo Ming Tang and had then dismissed, and the restoration of the Nanking Constitution of 1912.
 2. The election of Feng Kwo Chang, a military leader of the more conservative school of Yuan Shih Kai, as vice-president. (October 30, 1916. General Tuan Chi Jui, Premier.)
 3. Continued strain between the conservative, military group which was strong in the cabinet, and the democratically minded groups, largely from the South, which were strong in Parliament.
 4. In spite of this strain Parliament proceeded to the drafting of a permanent constitution and was making good headway. China might have preserved her unity and have continued to progress peacefully had it not been for developments arising out of the World War.
- C. *Foreign affairs and the disruption of China which they brought about.*
1. July, 1916, Japan and Russia agreed to defend China against the aggression of any other power.
 2. The Chengchiatun incident, August, 1916, and the subsequent negotiations, an instance of continued friction between the Japanese and Chinese in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia and probably of Japanese aggression. The incident was, on the whole, settled to the satisfaction of China.

3. February, 1917, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy secretly but formally agreed with Japan to support at the Peace Conference the latter's claims to the former German holdings in Shantung. The existence of these agreements was not generally known until 1919.
4. China broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, March 14, 1917.
 - (a) Reasons which tended to prevent China's siding with the Entente:
 - (1) The aggressions of Japan, especially the occupation of Kiaochow, the Twenty-One Demands and the Chengchiatun incident.
 - (2) German propaganda.
 - (3) French aggressions in Tientsin in 1916.
 - (b) Reasons which induced China to break with Germany.
 - (1) Sympathy of many of the younger, more progressive Chinese leaders with the avowed aims of the Entente, especially the protection for weak nations and opposition to German aims and methods, including submarine warfare.
 - (2) Hope of getting concessions from the Entente.
 - (3) American example and diplomatic pressure.
 - (4) Friendship for and confidence in America. These were due to America's leadership in the open door policy, 1899, her friendship for China in 1900 and 1901, her opposition to Russian aggressions between 1900 and 1904, her endeavor to neutralize the Manchurian railways in 1909, her lack of territorial ambitions in China, her return of part of the Boxer indemnity, the many Chinese who had studied in the United States, and the unselfish work of American missionaries in China.
 - (c) China answered favorably Wilson's peace inquiry of December 19, 1916.
 - (d) When in February, 1917, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany she invited (February 4) other neutrals to do likewise.
 - (e) China sent to Germany, February 9, 1917, a note of protest against the unrestricted submarine warfare.
 - (f) Germany's answer having proved unsatisfactory, on March 14 diplomatic relations were severed by China.
5. The struggle over the question whether China should follow the severance of diplomatic relations by declaring war.
 - (a) The general sentiment of the country was in favor of entering the war.
 - (b) The reasons which led to this were:
 - (1) The various reasons which had led China to break with Germany.
 - (2) The hope of getting a seat at the Peace Conference and so of getting a voice in the disposition of the Shantung properties and other questions vital to China.
 - (3) The hope of being permitted by the Entente to revise the customs rates, to postpone payments on the Boxer indemnity, and in other ways to relax foreign control and to regain sovereign rights.
 - (c) April 25, a conference of military governors met at the instance of Tuan Chi Jui, the Premier, and supported a declaration of war.

- (d) May 7, the President recommended to Parliament that war be declared. Parliament hesitated, fearing Japanese intrigues and distrusting the Cabinet, because the latter was dominated by the military party. This hesitation was accentuated by the attempt of the Premier and of a Peking mob to coerce Parliament.
- (e) May 19, Parliament decided that a majority of its number were in favor of war but refused to declare war until the Cabinet should be reorganized.
- (f) May 23, President Li Yuan Hung dismissed Tuan Chi Jui. The rest of the Cabinet had previously resigned.
- (g) Most of the northern provinces, led by the northern military chiefs, declared their independence because of the dismissal of Tuan Chi Jui, and a conference of the generals met in Tientsin. The issue was squarely joined whether Parliament, led by the southern democratic group, should control the government, or the northern, military, conservative group.
- (h) June 5, the United States formally advised China to resume her political unity. This note aroused resentment in Japan because Tokyo had not first been consulted.
- (i) June 9, the military chiefs at Tientsin sent an ultimatum to the President threatening war if Parliament were not dissolved.
- (j) June 12, President Li Yuan Hung yielded and dissolved Parliament, violating the Constitution in so doing.
- (k) The members of Parliament fled from Peking.
- (l) The northern provinces withdrew their declarations of independence.
- (m) June 15, Chang Hsun, an old-style military chief, arrived in Peking with his troops.
- (n) July 1, Chang Hsun declared the Manchus restored. Li Yuan Hung, at first held prisoner, was taken by Japanese troops to the Japanese legation.
- (o) The major part of the country, including most of the military group, opposed the restoration, and Republican troops marched on Peking.
- (p) After some fighting, Chang Hsun (July 12) took refuge in the Dutch Legation and the restored empire collapsed.
- (q) Tuan Chi Jui reëntered Peking July 14 and July 15 to become Premier.
- (r) July 17, Li Yuan Hung refused to resume office and the Vice-President, Feng Kwo Chang, became President.
- (s) The former members of Parliament, largely Southerners, were dissatisfied with Tuan Chi Jui and war between the North and South was certain.
- (t) August 14, 1917, the Peking government, now under the control of the northern military group, declared war on Germany.

Readings:

W. R. Wheeler, *China and the World War*, Chaps. III, V.

B. L. P. Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, Chaps. XIV–XVI.

K. S. Latourette, *China, the United States and the War*, World Peace Foundation, July, 1919.

H. M. Vinacke, *Modern Constitutional Development in China*, Princeton University Press, 1920, Chaps. IX and X.

T. F. Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, The Century Company, 1919, Chaps. III-VI.

VIII

FROM CHINA'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR, AUGUST 14, 1917, TO THE ARMISTICE, NOVEMBER 11, 1918

A. *Continued civil war in China.*

1. The struggle, nominally between the northern conservatives and the members of the former Parliament, largely Southerners, between militarism and democracy, ultimately degenerated into a strife between rival military leaders. The Parliamentary leaders claimed to be the constitutional government and maintained themselves at Canton.
2. The country tended to break up into warring groups and provinces.
3. The failure of attempts at reconciliation through peace conferences between the North and the South at Shanghai.

B. *The Peking government.*

1. Remained the one recognized by the Powers.
2. It was in the hands of the northern military group.
3. The northern (Peiyang) party was divided between:
 - (a) The Chihli faction, controlled by Feng Kwo Chang.
 - (b) The Anhui faction, controlled by Tuan Chi Jui.
 - (c) Factional contests followed between these.
4. General Chang Tso Ling, in control of the Manchurian provinces, became an important figure.

In the autumn of 1917, Tuan Chi Jui called an assembly to frame a law for the election of a new Parliament. The law was promulgated February 17, 1918, and a Parliament was elected.
5. September 4, 1918, Hsu Shih Ch'ang, a conservative militarist of the northern group, was elected president.

C. *China's part in the war.*

1. She could not help in military operations with the exception of aiding in guarding the northern frontier against the Bolsheviki and Siberian unrest and in coöperating with the allied force in Siberia.
2. A War Participation Board was formed with Tuan Chi Jui at the head, but this did little.
3. China allowed the Allies to take to France about 175,000 laborers for work behind the lines.
4. Some ship-building was undertaken for the Allies.
5. Some food stuffs for the Allies were purchased in China.
6. In spite of these activities, on October 29, 1918, the Allies protested that China was not properly conducting herself in the war.

D. *Japan tightened her hold on China.*

- i. The Lansing-Ishii agreement, November 2, 1917, between the United States and Japan, seemed to many Chinese to be the abandonment of China to Japan.
 - (a) By it Japan, while reaffirming the "open door" and the independence and territorial integrity of China, was acknowledged by the United States to have "special interests" in China, because of "territorial propinquity." The importance of the agreement depended in part upon the interpretation placed upon the phrase "special interests."
 - (b) China notified the two powers that it "could not allow itself to be bound by any agreement entered into by other nations."
2. Chino-Japanese military and naval agreements, May 1, 1918.
 - (a) Shrouded in secrecy and first heard of in the spring of 1917.
 - (b) So far as published, the agreements proved to be simply for coöperation in defense against the enemy, especially against the menace of unrest in Siberia.
3. Japanese loans were made to China amounting to many millions of yen on the security of revenues, valuable natural resources, and railway concessions in Manchuria and Shantung.
4. Japan and China arranged a *modus vivendi* in Shantung, which gave certain advantages to China, September, 1918.

E. *Other foreign relations.*

1. The powers permitted the postponement of payments on the Boxer indemnity.
2. They negotiated for the increase of China's customs revenue.

Readings:

- T. F. Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, Chaps. VII, XII and XIII.
- W. R. Wheeler, *China and the World War*, Chaps. VI and VII, and appendix III.
- B. L. P. Weale, *The Truth About China and Japan*, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1919, Appendices A-F, I, J, and L.
- K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 233-235.
- K. S. Latourette, *China, the United States and the War*.
- S. C. Cheng, *Modern China*, pp. 208-298, and appendices 2, 4, 5, and 8.
- H. M. Vinacke, *Modern Constitutional Development in China*, pp. 254-262.

IX

FROM THE ARMISTICE, NOVEMBER 11, 1918, TO THE PRESENT TIME (MARCH, 1921)

A. *China at the Peace Conference.*

1. Both North and South were represented on the delegation and very ably.
2. China asked not only for the restoration to her of the former German holdings in Shantung, but also for the cancellation of the Sino-Japanese agreements of 1915.

3. China won none of her contentions but the German properties in Shantung were awarded Japan with only a vague promise to restore them to China. China and Japan had had a previous exchange of notes (1915) on the terms on which Japan would restore Kiao Chow to China.
 4. The Chinese delegates refused to sign the German treaty which contained the objectionable clauses, but obtained China's admission to the League of Nations by signing the Austrian Treaty.
 5. This award, together with her holdings, left Japan dominant in North China and in the country as a whole.
- B. *The effect of the award upon China was a nation-wide outcry against the Japanese.*
1. This showed itself in a boycott against the Japanese which was led by students and which broke out at first against some officials who were supposed to have sold out to the Japanese.
 2. The boycott worked injury to Japanese trade and continued to be fairly effective for at least a year.
 3. The boycott was an evidence of a rising national feeling led by the student class.
- C. *January 19, 1920, Japan offered to open negotiations for the restoration of the Shantung properties but there was widespread national protest against such a move and China did not enter upon them.*
- D. *Late in 1920, China obtained election to the Council of the League of Nations.*
- E. *In the latter part of 1920, feeling against Japan was accentuated by the latter's high-handed treatment of Koreans in Chientao, a district of Manchuria which adjoins Korea.*
- F. *In 1919, there was formed under American leadership an International Financial Consortium.*
1. The beginning of this went back to the summer of 1918.
 2. The purpose was to assume international control of all future loans to China, especially for railway, mining and industrial development, and thus to prevent international rivalry.
 3. Japan for a time refused to enter unless Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia were excepted from the territory covered by the Consortium.
 4. To this demand the Consortium refused to yield and, in 1920, an arrangement was made whereby Japan came in and was given some special consideration in Manchuria.
 5. In 1920 and 1921 there developed some Chinese opposition to the Consortium on the ground that it interfered with China's independence.
- G. *China in August, 1920, refused to recognize as official the representatives of the old régime of Russia, who were living in China, or to pay over to them and the Russo-Asiatic bank the installments of the Boxer indemnity.*
- H. *Arrangements arising out of the Siberian situation.*

1. October 1919, Chinese gunboats on the Amur were fired on by Siberian soldiers.
2. 1919, autonomy of Outer Mongolia was cancelled, Russian control over it ceased, and Hsu Shu Cheng and then Chang Tso Ling tried to control it. Urga, the capital, was captured by a Russian independent general in 1920.
3. China exercised supervision over the Chinese Eastern Railway (in Northern Manchuria).

I. *Internal politics.*

1. Continued civil war amounted to anarchy in places and the country progressively disintegrated into districts controlled by military chieftains who were virtually independent of Peking, and who at times levied toll on merchants and other civilians.
 - (a) A presidential mandate of October 30, 1920, declared the independence of the six seceding Southern provinces cancelled and ordered the choice of a new parliament under the terms of the Provisional Constitution of 1912.
 - (b) The South paid no attention to the order and, by the early part of 1921, the Kwo Ming Tang was in control in Canton, engineered in part by Sun Yat Sen.
2. In some provinces, notably under Governor Yen in Shansi, order was maintained.
3. Dissension among the military leaders in Peking in the spring and summer of 1920 led to the ousting by force from positions of influence of the members of the pro-Japanese Anfu Club.
 - (a) Tuan Chi Jui and Hsu Shu Cheng ("little" Hsu) led the Anfu Club, and by its fall were discredited. They belonged to the Anhui faction of the Peiyang, or northern military party.
 - (b) Generals Tsao Kun and Wu Pei Fu, of the Chihli faction of the Peiyang party, led in ousting the Anfu Club.
 - (c) August 4, 1920, a presidential mandate dissolved the Anfu Club.
4. Chang Tso Ling, the Inspecting Commissioner of Manchuria and military governor of Fengtien (in Manchuria), was the dominant military figure in North China.

J. *The Famine of 1920-1921 in the North.*

1. The most severe in many decades and threatened further disintegration in the North.
2. Extensive foreign effort to relieve it.

Readings:

K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 236-238.

R. Machray, *The Crisis in China*, *The Fortnightly Review*, January, 1921.

J. Dewey in *The New Republic*, 23: 145-7; 21: 14-17; 25: 187-190; 24: 142-144; 21: 380-382; 19: 346-348; 20: 16-18.

Current History Magazine, 12: 463-464; 12: 638-640; 13: 47-48, January 1920; 13: 287-289; 10: 534-538.

See also the files of *Millard's Review*, the *Far Eastern Review*, and *Asia*.

X

ADDITIONAL FEATURES OF CHINESE LIFE, 1911-1921

A. *Growth of education.*

1. Government and private schools.
2. Missionary schools.
3. Thousands of students in Japan, America, and Europe. The largest numbers were in Japan, America, and France. A strong movement to the latter country began after the war.
4. The education was on Occidental lines and was much of it technical.
5. A phonetic script was developed as a means of writing the vernacular and so of increasing literacy and intelligence among the masses.
6. The vernacular was more and more used in text-books in the schools.

B. *Growth of newspapers.*

1. In numbers.
2. An easy, colloquial style was developed, in contrast with the older and more difficult classical style.

C. *Trade.*

1. Increased greatly during the war. Americans and Japanese especially prospered.
2. Depression after the war, especially in 1920 and 1921.

D. *Growth in factories, especially in cotton mills in Shanghai and Tientsin.*

E. *Revival of the drug traffic.*

1. Some revival of opium growing.
2. Large importations of the derivatives of opium from Great Britain and America by way of Japan.

F. *Rapid growth of the Christian Church.*

1. In numbers.
2. In willingness to assume initiative apart from foreigners.
3. In quality of members and leadership.

G. *Increase of the national spirit in spite of governmental corruption, political division, and military domination.*

H. *An increasing tendency, especially on the part of students, to criticize existing institutions, ideas and methods, and to follow some of the more liberal and radical writers of the West.*

Readings:

W. R. Wheeler, *China and the World War*, Chap. 8.

K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, Chap. 6.

Magazine articles are the best and most easily accessible guides to most of the subjects under this topic. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature should be consulted. Among the better articles are the following:

Paul Hutchinson, *The Future of Religion in China*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1921.

The Literary Digest, 66: 37-38.

The New Republic, 21: 114-117.

Current History Magazine, 12: 992-1000.

The Review of Reviews, 61: 100-102.

The files of *Asia*.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

1919

Announcement of Founding of Institute.

1920

Bulletin No. 1. First Annual Report of the Director.

Bulletin No. 2. For Administrative Authorities of Universities and Colleges.

Bulletin No. 3. Observations on Higher Education in Europe.

Opportunities for Higher Education in France.

Opportunities for Graduate Study in the British Isles.

1921

Bulletin No. 1. Second Annual Report of the Director.

Bulletin No. 2. Opportunities for Higher Education in Italy.

Bulletin No. 3. Serials of an International Character
(Tentative List for Libraries)

Bulletin No. 4. Educational Facilities in the United States for South African Students.

Bulletin No. 5. Guide Book for Foreign Students in the United States.

Bulletin No. 6. See Syllabus No. VII.

For the International Relations Clubs

Syllabus No. I. Outline of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Syllabus No. II. The Past, Present and Future of the Monroe Doctrine.

Syllabus No. III. The History of Russia from Earliest Times.

Syllabus No. IV. The Russian Revolution.

Syllabus No. V. The Question of the Balkans.

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Syllabus No. VII. Hispanic-American History.

Syllabus No. VIII. The Question of the Near East.

Syllabus No. IX. China Under the Republic.

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